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THE

ORATION of *PERICLES*

Taken from the

TRANSLATION of THUCYDIDES,

By Dr. *SMITH*, Dean of *Chester*.

THE

ORATION of *PLATO*

Translated by the late

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ARGUMENT

FROM

THUCYDIDES,

BOOK II.

IT was the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Athenians every winter, in war-time, to ſolemnize a public funeral for thoſe who had fallen in battle, in the manner as follows.—

The bones of the ſlain were brought to a tabernacle erected for the purpoſe three days before, and all were at liberty to deck out the remains of their friends at their own diſcretion. But, when the grand proceſſion was made, ten cypreſs-coffins were drawn on carriages, one for every tribe, in each of which were ſeparately contained the bones of all that belonged to that tribe. One ſumptuous bier was carried along empty for thoſe that were miſſing, whoſe bodies could not be found amongſt the ſlain. All who were willing, both citizens and ſtrangers, attended the ſolemnity; and the women, who were related to the deceaſed, took their ſtation

near the ſepulchre groaning and lamenting. They depoſited the remains in the public ſepulchre, which ſtood in the fineſt ſuburb of the city;—for it had been the conſtant cuſtom there *to bury all who fell in war, except thoſe at Marathon, whoſe extraordinary valour the Athenians judged proper to honour with a ſepulchre on the field of battle. As ſoon as they were interred, ſome one ſelected for the office by the public voice, and ever a perſon in great eſteem for his high underſtanding, and of high dignity amongſt them, pronounced over them the decent panegyric—and this done, they departed.*

THE

THE FUNERAL ORATION OF PERICLES.

MANY of thoſe, who have ſpoken before me on theſe occaſions, have commended the author of the law, which we are now obeying, for having inſtituted an oration to the honour of thoſe who ſacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it ſufficient for men, who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by ſuch as you ſee the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and—that the virtues of Many ought not to be endangered by the management of any One perſon, when their credit muſt precariouſly depend on his oration, which may be good, or may be bad. Difficult indeed it is judiciouſly to handle a ſubject, where even probable truth will hardly gain aſſent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce every thing unfavourably expreſſed, in reſpect to what he wiſhes and what he knows;—whilſt the

ſtranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of thoſe deeds, which he is conſcious are above his own atchievement. For the praiſes beſtowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do thoſe feats, they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it falſe. Yet, as this ſolemnity hath received its ſanction from the authority of our anceſtors, it is my duty alſo to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, ſo far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I SHALL therefore firſt begin with our forefathers, ſince both juſtice and decency require we ſhould on this occaſion beſtow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themſelves always firmly ſettled, and through their valour handed it down free to every ſince ſucceeding generation. Worthy indeed of praiſe are They, and yet more worthy are our immediate Fathers; ſince, enlarging their own inheritance into the extenſive empire which we now poſſeſs, they bequeathed *that* their work of toil to us, their Sons. Yet even theſe ſucceſſes we ourſelves here preſent, we who are yet in the ſtrength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made ſuch proviſions for this our Athens, that now it is all-ſufficient in itſelf to anſwer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite thoſe martial exploits by which theſe ends were accomplished,

pliſhed, or the reſolute defences we ourſelves and our fathers have made againſt the formidable invaſions of Barbarians and Greeks—your own knowledge of theſe will excuſe the long detail. But —by what methods we have roſe to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I ſhall firſt endeavour to ſhew; and then proceed to the praiſe of the deceaſed. Theſe, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occaſion: the diſcuſſion of them muſt be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of Strangers.

We are happy in a form of Government, which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours:—for it hath ſerved as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the *Few*, but to the whole body of the people, is called a *Democracy*. How different ſoever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the ſame general Equality our laws are fitted to preſerve,—and ſuperior Honours, juſt as we excell. The public Adminiſtration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hindrance; ſince whoever is able to ſerve his country meets with no obſtacle to preferment from his firſt obſcurity. The Offices of the *State* we go through without obſtructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without ſuſpicions; not

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angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of diſcontent, which pains, tho' it cannot puniſh:— ſo that in private life we converſe together without diffidence or damage, whilſt we dare not on any account offend againſt the Public, through the reverence we bear to the Magiſtrates and the Laws, chiefly to thoſe *enacted* for redreſs of the injured, and to thoſe that are *unwritten*, a breach of which is allowed diſgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind moſt frequent intermiſſions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and ſacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens cauſeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of thoſe of other nations.

In the affairs of War we excell thoſe of our enemies, who adhere to methods oppoſite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general reſort, nor ever drive any ſtranger from us, whom either improvement or curioſity hath brought amongſt us, leſt any enemy ſhould hurt us by ſeeing what is never concealed. We place not ſo great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our ſouls impelling us to action.

action. In point of Education, the youth of ſome people are inured by a courſe of laborious exerciſe to ſupport toil and hardſhip like men; but we, notwithſtanding our eaſy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, ſince the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united ſtrength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the moſt part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country thoſe who fight in defence of their own habitations. The ſtrength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced; becauſe it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our ſervice by land. But, if any-where they engage and defeat a ſmall party of our forces, they boaſtingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly over-powered by our united ſtrength. What though, from a ſtate of inactivity rather than laborious exerciſe, or with a natural rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger? — this good at leaſt we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehenſion of poſſible misfortunes, and, when we hazard the danger, are found no leſs courageous than thoſe who are continually inured to it. In theſe reſpects our whole community deſerves juſtly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

In our manner of living we ſhew an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philoſophy without enervating the mind. We diſplay our wealth in the ſeaſon of beneficence, and not in the vanity of diſcourſe. A confeſſion of poverty is diſgrace to no man; no effort to avoid it is diſgrace indeed. There is viſibly in the ſame perſons an attention to their own private concerns and thoſe of the Public; and in others, engaged in the labours of life, there is a competent ſkill in the affairs of Government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in ſtate-affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we paſs the ſoundeſt judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehenſions of things; not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein conſiſts our diſtinguiſhing excellence, that in the hour of action we ſhew the greateſt courage, and yet debate before-hand the expediency of our meaſures. The courage of others is the reſult of ignorance: deliberation makes them cowards. And thoſe undoubtedly muſt be owned to have the greateſt ſouls, who, moſt acutely ſenſible of the miſeries of war and the ſweets of peace, are not hence in the leaſt deterred from facing danger.

In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preſerve friends, not by receiving, but

but by conferring obligations. For he, who does a kindneſs, hath the advantage over him, who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The perſon obliged is compelled to act the more inſipid part, conſcious that a return of kindneſs is merely a payment, not an obligation. And we alone are ſplendidly beneficent to others, not ſo much from intereſted motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I ſhall ſum up what yet remains, by only adding—that our Athens in general is the ſchool of Greece; and that every ſingle Athenian amongſt us is excellently formed, by his perſonal qualifications, for all the various ſcenes of active life, acting with a moſt graceful demeanor, and a moſt ready habit of diſpatch.

THAT I have not on this occaſion made uſe of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height, to which by ſuch a conduct this *State* hath roſe, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report;—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the bluſh of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no diſcontent, as if ſubject to men unworthy to command. That we deſerve our power, we need no evidence to manifeſt. We have great and ſignal proofs of this, which intitle us to the admiration of the preſent and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praiſe; no poet to deck off a

hiſtory with the charms of verſe, where the opinion of exploits muſt ſuffer by a ſtrict relation. Every ſea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have every-where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendſhip.

In the juſt defence of ſuch a *State*, theſe victims of their own valour, ſcorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of thoſe who ſurvive is ready, I am perſuaded, to ſacrifice life in ſuch a cauſe. And for this reaſon I enlarged ſo much on national points, to give the cleareſt proof, that in the preſent war we have more at ſtake, than men whoſe public advantages are not ſo valuable; and to illuſtrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them, who are now my ſubject, and the greateſt part of which they have now received. For the encomiums, with which I have celebrated the *State*, have been earned for it by the bravery of *theſe*, and of men like *theſe*. And ſuch compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if paſſed on any Grecians, but theſe alone. The fatal period, to which theſe gallant ſouls are now reduced, is the ſureſt evidence of their merit —an evidence begun in their lives, and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of juſtice to pay ſuperior honours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, tho' inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their

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laſt ſervice effaceth all former demerits;—it extends to the public: their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of theſe was induced to ſhrink from danger, through fondneſs of thoſe delights which the peaceful affluent life beſtows:—not one was the leſs laviſh of his life, through the flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One paſſion there was in their minds much ſtronger than theſe—the deſire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the moſt honourable prize of dangers, they boldly ruſhed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to ſatisfy thoſe ſecondary paſſions. The uncertain event they had already ſecured in hope; what their eyes ſhewed plainly muſt be done, they truſted to their own valour to accompliſh, thinking it more glorious to defend themſelves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed they fled, but preſented their bodies to the ſhock of battle; when, inſenſible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they inſtantly dropt—and thus diſcharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for You, who now ſurvive them—it is your buſineſs to pray for a better fate—but to think it your duty alſo to preſerve the ſame ſpirit and warmth of courage againſt your enemies, not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man, indulging a flow of

words, may tell you, what you yourſelves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly againſt your enemies—but rather making the daily-increaſing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehenſions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were ſenſible of ſhame; who, whenever their attempts were unſucceſsful, thought it diſhonour their country ſhould ſtand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and ſo made it the moſt glorious *preſent*. Beſtowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praiſe that will never decay, a ſepulchre that will always be moſt illuſtrious—not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preſerved, to be on every occaſion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the ſepulchre of illuſtrious men; nor is it the inſcription on the columns in their native ſoil alone that ſhews their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inſcriptions, in every foreign nation, repoſited more durably in univerſal remembrance, than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating theſe noble patterns, placing your happineſs in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be laviſh of life is not ſo noble in thoſe whom

whom misfortunes have reduced to miſery and deſpair, as in men who hazard the loſs of a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and the enjoyment of all the bleſſings this world affords, by an unſucceſsful enterprize. Adverſity, after a ſeries of eaſe and affluence, ſinks deeper into the heart of a man of ſpirit, than the ſtroke of death inſenſibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

For this reaſon, the *Parents* of thoſe who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I ſhall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happineſs belongs to men who have reached the moſt glorious period of life, as theſe now have, who are to you the ſource of ſorrow,—theſe whoſe life hath received its ample meaſure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its concluſion. I know it in truth a difficult taſk to fix comfort in thoſe breaſts, which will have frequent remembrances, in ſeeing the happineſs of others, in what they once themſelves enjoyed. And ſorrow flows not from the abſence of thoſe good things which we have never yet experienced, but from the loſs of thoſe to which we have been accuſtomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from iſſue, ſhould be comforted by the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to ſome, in cauſing them to forget ſuch as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country.

country, in preventing its deſolation, and providing for its ſecurity. For thoſe perſons cannot in common juſtice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expoſe to danger for its ſafety.—But You, whoſe age is already far advanced, compute the greater ſhare of happineſs your longer time hath afforded for ſo much gain, perſuaded in yourſelves, the remainder will be but ſhort, and enlighten that ſpace by the glory gained by *Theſe*. It is greatneſs of ſoul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter ſtage of life, as ſome give out, ſo much as honour.—

To You, the *Sons* and *Brothers* of the deceaſed, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him, who no longer is, every one is ready to commend; ſo that, to whatever height you puſh your deſerts, you will ſcarce ever be thought to equal, but to be ſomewhat inferior to theſe. Envy will exert itſelf againſt a competitor, whilſt life remains; but when death ſtops the competition, affection will applaud without reſtraint.

If after this it be expected for me to ſay any thing to *You*, who are now reduced to a ſtate of Widowhood, about female virtue, I ſhall expreſs it all in one ſhort admonition:—It is your greateſt glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your ſex, and to give the Men as little handle as poſſible

poſſible to talk of your behaviour, whether *well* or *ill*.

I HAVE now diſcharged the province allotted me by the laws, and ſaid what I thought moſt pertinent to this aſſembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children, from this day till they arrive at manhood, ſhall be educated at the public expence of the *State*, which hath appointed ſo beneficial a meed for theſe and all future relicts of the public conteſts. For, wherever the greateſt rewards are propoſed for virtue, there the beſt patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one reſpectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

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THE

FUNERAL ORATION

OF

PLATO.

WHATEVER was requiſite to be *done* for theſe brave men, hath been performed on our part: They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, diſmiſſed with theſe public Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make theſe honours complete, ſomething remains to be *ſaid*, which not only the Laws require to be rendered unto them, but Reaſon alſo. For an eloquent and well-ſpoken Oration impreſſes on the minds of the audience a laſting admiration of great and virtuous actions. But the preſent occaſion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may at one and the ſame time do juſtice to the Dead; animate and ſoothe the Living; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceaſed to an imitation of their virtues; and adminiſter comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Anceſtors are yet alive. And where ſhall

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we find an Orator equal to ſuch a taſk? Or with what Topic ſhall we begin the praiſes of thoſe brave men, who when living made their friends happy by their virtues, and with their deaths purchaſed the ſafety of all who now ſurvive?

As they were in ſome meaſure indebted to nature for their virtue, it is in my opinion neceſſary to begin their Panegyric with an account of their original: for that they were virtuous was owing to their being ſprung of virtuous Anceſtors. Let us then celebrate, in the firſt place, their noble Birth; and in the ſecond, their Nature and Education; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *theſe* alſo were virtuous, and ſuch as correſponded to all thoſe advantages.

First then, as to the nobility of their deſcent: They are ſprung from a race of Anceſtors, not adventitious, not tranſplanted from I know not where, but *natives of the ſoil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own country; nurſed, not like other nations by a ſtep-mother, but a parent, the very land which they inhabited; in which they now lie buried; the ſoil which bred, which nurſed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her boſom. It is highly reaſonable therefore to beſtow ſome encomiums on this Mother; and the rather, becauſe the nobility of theſe her Children will at the ſame time, and in

the ſame proportion, be illuſtrated and adorned. This Country indeed deſerves to be celebrated by all mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts, but principally becauſe ſhe is a favourite of Heaven, of which the rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the deciſion that followed thereupon, is a clear evidence. And how can any mortal reaſonably pretend to refuſe praiſe to that country, which the Gods have vouchſafed to honour? Another topic of Panegyric is this, that at the very time when the earth bred and produced animals of all kinds, both wild and tame, This Country of ours preſerved her purity; refuſed to bring forth ſavage beaſts; and among all animals choſe to produce Man only, who ſurpaſſes the reſt in underſtanding, and who alone hath inſtituted Laws for the obſervation of Juſtice, and the worſhip of the Gods. To what I here advance, that this earth is the genuine parent of our Forefathers, I muſt obſerve, that every thing that brings forth is provided with nouriſhment for what it has produced; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a mother from her being ſupplied with native fountains of nouriſhment for the ſuſtenance of the child. The like ſubſtantial evidence of her having brought forth Man hath this our Country and Mother; for ſhe alone at the ſame time, and ſhe *firſt* produced the uſeful grain of wheat and barley, the proper and the beſt food of man: ſo that it is evident ſhe was the parent of this ſpecies of Animals; and to her

theſe proofs hold more ſtrongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not moſt certainly, in breeding and producing, copy after her Daughters, but they after her: neither did ſhe grudge the world theſe her fruits, but generouſly diſpenſed them to other nations. For her children ſhe in the next place brought forth the olive, the ſupport of toil; and after ſhe had thus nouriſhed and reared them up to manhood, ſhe brought them Deities for their Governors and Inſtructors, whoſe names it is unneceſſary to mention in this place.

We all know who furniſhed us with the neceſſaries and ſecurities of life; who inſtructed us in the arts requiſite for our daily ſupport; who gave us, and who taught us the uſe of arms for the defence of our Country. Our Anceſtors, thus born and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to ſpeak a few words. For Government is the nurſe of men; a good one, of virtuous men; a bad one, of wicked men. That thoſe who went before us were educated under a good government, is neceſſary to ſhew; for indeed it was owing to the advantage of being bred under a good government, that both they and their deſcendants, the fathers of the deceaſed, became virtuous. The form of Government then was, as it now is, an *Ariſtocracy:* Under this form of Government we ſtill live, and for the moſt part have done ſo from that time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what name

they pleaſe: It is in truth an *Ariſtocracy* founded on the good-will of the People. We have always had Magiſtrates inveſted with kingly power, ſome of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the moſt powerful, and they always beſtowed the authority and power of the ſtate upon thoſe whom they judged the moſt worthy. No man was excluded for the meanneſs, the obſcurity, or the poverty of his family; nor advanced for the contrary qualifications of his Anceſtors, as is practiſed in other ſtates. Their choice was limited to one point. Whoever was eſtemed to be wiſe and good, he had the authority, and he the power. The cauſe of this equal government among us was the equality of our original. For other ſtates are compoſed of men of every country, and of different extractions; whence their governments are unequal; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies*, in which one part of the people look upon the other as Slaves, and They upon them as Maſters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the ſame parent, diſdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural equality of our births compelled us to ſeek after a legal equality in our government, and forbad us to yield any ſubjection among ourſelves, excepting only to the Wiſe and Virtuous. Hence it came to paſs, that all our anceſtors, the fathers of the deceaſed, and they themſelves, being thus nobly born, thus nurſed up in liberty, exhibited in all their conduct, as well private as public, a

number

number of great and glorious Actions for the ſervice of mankind; thinking it their duty as well to protect *Grecians* againſt *Grecians*, as to maintain the general liberty of Greece againſt all foreign invaders. How they repelled the invaſions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* againſt the *Thebans*, and the *Heraclides* againſt the *Argives*, the time will not permit me fully to relate: beſides, their virtues having been finely celebrated by the poets in their melodious ſongs, the world hath been already acquainted with them; ſo that we ſhould but diſgrace ourſelves in attempting the ſame ſubjects in ſimple proſe. For theſe reaſons therefore I think proper to paſs over theſe matters. Juſtice hath been done to their merits. But I think myſelf obliged to recall the memory of thoſe exploits, which, worthy as they were, the poets have not thought worthy of their notice, and which are now almoſt buried in oblivion; that, by ſetting forth the praiſes of the great men who performed them, I may woo the poets to admit them into their ſongs and verſes. The chief of theſe are the actions of our forefathers, the children of this ſoil, who held the hands of thoſe Lords of *Aſia*, the *Perſians*, when they attempted to enſlave *Europe*; whoſe virtues therefore in the firſt place deſerve to be commemorated, and to be praiſed. To give their merit its proper luſtre, we ought to take a view of it in that period of time, when all *Aſia* was in ſubjection

to

to the third king of the *Perſian* race. The firſt of theſe was *Cyrus*, who by his own great abilities freed his countrymen the *Perſians*, enſlaved the *Medes* his Maſters, and brought under his dominion the reſt of *Aſia* as far as *Ægypt*. His ſon ſubdued *Ægypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was acceſſible, by his arms. *Darius*, the third king, extended the limits of his empire by his land-forces as far as Scythia, and by his fleets made himſelf maſter of the ſea, and of the iſlands, inſomuch that no one durſt ſtand up in oppoſition to him. The very opinions of mankind ſeem to have been ſubdued; ſo many, ſo powerful, and ſo warlike were the nations which were bowed to the Perſian yoke. This Darius, accuſing us and the Eretrians of an attempt upon Sardis, made that a pretence for ſending an army of 500000 men on board his ſhips and tranſports, and a fleet of 300 ſail; over which he appointed Datis to be general, ordering him, under the forfeiture of his head, to bring back the Eretrians and Athenians captive. Datis ſailing to Eretria, againſt a nation, which of all the Greeks had at that time the greateſt reputation for valour, and was moreover very numerous, ſubdued them in three days; and that none of them might eſcape, he took this method of ſearching the whole Iſland. Cauſing his troops to march to the utmoſt limits of the Eretrians, and extend themſelves from ſea to ſea, he ordered them to join their hands, and ſweep the country, that he might be able to aſſure the king, that not a man had

had eſcaped him. With the like deſign he paſſed from Eretria to Marathon, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the ſame inevitable yoke upon the neck of the Athenians, and carry them off, as he had done the Eretrians. During theſe tranſactions, part of which were accompliſhed, and part yet in execution, no nation of the Greeks offered to ſtir to the aſſiſtance either of the Eretrians or the Athenians, except the Lacedæmonians, and they did not join us till the day after the battle. The reſt, ſtruck with terror, and preferring their preſent ſafety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a judgment of the bravery of thoſe men, who received the attack of the Barbarians at Marathon, chaſtiſed the arrogance of Aſia, and were the firſt who erected trophies for their victory over a barbarous enemy; by their example inſtructing others, that the power of Perſia was not invincible, and that wealth and numbers muſt yield to virtue. I call thoſe men, therefore, not our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers alſo, the fathers of our liberty, and of the liberty of all Europe. For the Grecians, ſurveying this day's work, were taught by their Marathonian maſters to hazard new battles in the defence of their country. Upon theſe, therefore, ought we in reaſon to beſtow the firſt Palm, and give the ſecond to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the ſea-fights of Salamis and Artemiſium. He who would go over the ſeveral actions of theſe brave men, enumerate the many difficulties they had to ſtruggle with,

both

both by Sea and Land, and tell how they ſurmounted them, would have much to ſay. But I ſhall only mention what appears to me to be the greateſt exploit after that of Marathon. For by that victory the Greeks had been only taught, that upon land it was poſſible for a ſmall number of Grecians to overcome a multitude of Barbarians; but that at ſea they were able to effect the ſame thing, was not yet evident. The Perſians had the reputation of being invincible at ſea, by the ſuperiority of their numbers, their riches, their naval ſkill, and ſtrength. Now what is moſt praiſeworthy in thoſe brave men, who ſignalized themſelves at ſea, is, that they did thereby, as it were, looſen thoſe bands of terror, which had held the Grecians ſo faſt bound, and cauſed them no longer to ſtand in awe of numbers, whether of ſhips or men. From theſe two actions, this of Salamis and that of Marathon, all Greece was inſtructed and accuſtomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by land or ſea. The third great exploit for the deliverance of Greece, as well in order as in degree, is the action of Platæa; in the glory of which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an equal part. This great, this arduous enterprize was atchieved, I ſay, by theſe two nations, and for this their merit they are now celebrated by us, and will be by our poſterity to the lateſt times. After this many ſtates of Greece ſtill ſided with the Barbarian, and the King himſelf was reported to have a deſign of invading Greece once more.

It would then be highly unjuſt not to take notice of thoſe alſo, who completed the work of their forefathers, and put the finiſhing hand to our deliverance, by ſcouring the ſeas of every thing that had the name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own limits. Theſe were they, who were engaged in the naval fight at Eurymedon, in the expeditions to Cyprus, to Ægypt, and many other places. Theſe ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our obligations to them, for having taught the great king to fear, to attend to his own ſafety, and not to be plotting the overthrow of Greece. This war againſt the Barbarians did our commonwealth, with her own forces only, draw out to the very dregs, for her own ſecurity, and that of her Allies. Peace being made, and Athens being now in her higheſt glory, there fell upon her, what is moſt commonly the lot of the ſucceſsful, firſt a rivalry in ſome other ſtates of Greece, and from thence jealouſy, which drew her, tho' unwilling, into a war againſt Grecians: upon the breaking out of which war, the Athenians fought a battle with the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra for the liberties of Bœotia. Tho' the iſſue of this battle was doubtful, yet the following Action proved deciſive: for ſome of the Allies of the Bœotians having deſerted thoſe to whoſe aſſiſtance they came, our Countrymen having on the third day after obtained a victory, we recovered to a ſenſe of their duty thoſe who without reaſon had fallen off from it. Theſe brave men

having fought againſt Grecians for the liberty of Grecians, and delivered thoſe whoſe cauſe they had undertaken to defend, were the firſt after the Perſian war, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the honour of being buried in this public Cœmetery. After this the war became more general; all Greece fell upon us at once, and ravaged our country, ill requiting the favours they had received from this City. But the Athenians having defeated their enemies in a ſea-fight, and taken priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria their leaders the Lacedæmonians, when it was in their power to have put them to death, ſpared their lives, forgave them, and made peace with them; thinking, that altho' in a war againſt Barbarians nothing leſs than their utter ruin ſhould be aimed at, yet that in a war between Grecians and Grecians the conteſt ſhould be carried on as far as victory indeed, but that the common intereſt of Greece ought not to be ſacrificed to any particular reſentment. Are not theſe brave men, therefore, worthy to be praiſed, who were engaged in that war, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a queſtion, whether in the firſt Perſian war another nation was not at leaſt equal to the Athenians: they, I ſay, who made it appear that ſuch a queſtion was intirely groundleſs. Theſe men made the ſuperiority of the Athenians ſufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that war, in which all Greece took part againſt them, and worſting in battle, with the forces of

Athens

Athens only, thoſe who had ſet themſelves up for the Chiefs of Greece, tho' they could pretend to no more than an equal ſhare with the Athenians in their victories gained over the Barbarians. After the peace aroſe another horrible and unexpected war, in which many brave men fell, who here lie buried. Some of theſe erected many trophies in Sicily; to which country they had ſailed in order to protect the Leontines in their liberties, whom we were bound to aſſiſt by ſolemn treaties. But before they could arrive, the paſſage being long, the Leontines were reduced to extremities, and diſabled from yielding them any aſſiſtance; for which reaſon they gave over the attempt, and were unfortunate; tho' it muſt be owned, their enemies, thoſe againſt whom they came to fight, behaved with ſuch virtue and moderation, that they deſerved far greater praiſe than ſome who were only confederates in that war. Others ſignalized themſelves in the Helleſpont, by taking all the ſhips of the enemy in one day, and by ſeveral other victories. I ſtyled this a horrible and unexpected war, becauſe ſome of the ſtates of Greece carried their enmity to this city ſo far, as to preſume to ſend an embaſſy to the king of Perſia, their and our moſt inveterate enemy, to invite, upon their own particular views, that Barbarian into Greece, whom, for the common cauſe, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of Europe; thus uniting in a league againſt Athens all the Greeks and Barbarians. Upon which occaſion the ſtrength and

valour of this ſtate became moſt conſpicuous. For our enemies looking upon Athens as already vanquiſhed, and having ſeized ſome of our ſhips at Mitylene, Theſe gallant men (for ſo they confeſsedly were) whom we now commemorate, went to their relief with ſixty ſail, and boarding the enemy's ſhips, gained a victory over them, and delivered their own allies, but met with a lot unworthy of their valour; for their bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the ſea, but had their burial there. And ſurely they deſerve to be remembered ever with praiſe and honour. For by their valour we came off victorious, not in that engagement only, but throughout the whole war; and through their bravery was it that our commonwealth gained the reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united forces of all mankind. Neither hath this reputation been falſified in fact. For we were conquered, not by our enemies, but by our own diſſentions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this day. But we have vanquiſhed, have ſubdued ourſelves. After theſe tranſactions, a calm enſuing, and a peace betwixt us and other nations, a civil war broke out, which was carried on in ſuch a manner, that, if by the decree of heaven diſſentions muſt neceſſarily ariſe, a man would pray that his country might be ſo and no otherwiſe diſtempered. For how eaſily, how much like friends and fellow-citizens, did the people of the Piræus, and thoſe of the City, run into a reconciliation with each other! and with how

how much moderation did they lay aſide their hoſtility againſt thoſe of Eleuſis, contrary to the expectations of all Greece! All which is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe than their conſanguinity, the natural baſis of firm and real friendſhip. We ought not therefore to paſs over in ſilence even thoſe, who in this war were ſlain on either ſide; but, as far as in us lies, endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and ſacrificing upon theſe occaſions to thoſe Dæmons who have the command and direction over them, inaſmuch as we ourſelves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of hatred and malice, but from the malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourſelves are living evidences, who, being of the ſame common original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we ſuffered. After this the city had reſt, and enjoyed a profound peace, eaſily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this ſtate, returned it but as they ought. But ſhe could not help reſenting the behaviour of the Greeks, when ſhe called to mind the benefits they had received, and the retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our ſhips, to which they formerly owed their own deliverance, and pulling down our walls, in return for our having ſaved theirs from ruin. The city then having taken the reſolution not to give for the future any aſſiſtance to the Greeks, whether oppreſſed by Grecians or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the Lacedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, imagining that Athens, the Patroneſs of liberty, was fallen, and that now was the time for them to purſue their proper buſineſs, the enſlaving of others, ſet immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Thoſe tranſactions are neither of an ancient date, nor perplexed by a variety of Actors. We all know in what a conſternation the chief ſtates of Greece, the Argives, the Bœotians, the Corinthians, applied to this city for ſuccour; and what was the greateſt miracle of all, that the king of Perſia himſelf was reduced to ſuch a ſtraight, as to have no hopes of ſafety from any other quarter, than from this very city, whoſe deſtruction he had ſo eagerly purſued. And, indeed, if Athens can be juſtly accuſed of any thing, it is of having been always too compaſſionate, too much inclined to ſalve the wounds of the afflicted. For at this very time ſhe was not able to perſevere, and to keep to her reſolution, of not aſſiſting thoſe in the preſervation of their liberties, who had maliciouſly and deſignedly injured her. She yielded, ſhe aſſiſted them, and by that aſſiſtance reſcued them from ſlavery, and gave them their liberty, till they ſhould think fit to enſlave themſelves again. She had not indeed the aſſurance to act ſo prepoſterous a part, as to ſend the king of Perſia any ſuccours; ſhe bore too great a reverence to the trophies of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa: yet by conniving at the aſſiſtance given him by Fugitives, and ſuch as voluntarily entered into his ſervice, ſhe was confeſſedly

feſſedly the cauſe of his preſervation. At this time ſhe repaired her fortifications and her fleets, and prepared again for war; finding herſelf under the neceſſity of entering into one with the Lacedæmonians, for the protection of the Parians. The king of Perſia, on his part, as ſoon as he ſaw the Lacedæmonians had given over all thoughts of carrying on a war by ſea, took umbrage at the Athenians; and reſolving to break the peace, demanded thoſe Grecian ſtates, which were upon the continent of Aſia, to be delivered up to him (thoſe very ſtates which the Lacedæmonians had formerly conſented to give up) as the condition of his continuing his amity with us and our allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair pretence for breaking the treaty. But he was miſtaken as to ſome of his Allies; for the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Bœotians determined to comply with his demand, and even entered into a treaty with him, which they confirmed upon oath, to give up the Greeks upon the continent of Aſia, provided he would furniſh them with money. But we, and we alone, had not the aſſurance to abandon thoſe ſtates, much leſs to ſwear to ſuch a treaty. That the city of Athens is ſo ſpirited and ſo frank, ſo conſtant and ſo hearty in the common cauſe, and as it were by nature ſo averſe to the Barbarian, muſt be aſcribed to her being wholly Greek, without any mixture of foreign alloy. For none of your

foreign

foreign Heroes, Pelops, Cadmus, Ægyptus, Danaus, and many others, who, though living under Grecian Laws, were Barbarians by extraction; none of theſe, I ſay, are of the number of our Citizens. We are genuine Greeks, no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and unadulterated enmity of Athens to all Barbarians. Wherefore we were once more left alone, for refuſing to do an action ſo infamous and ſo impious, as that of delivering up Grecians into the hands of Perſians. But being reſtored to what we had been deprived of in the former war, by the aſſiſtance of Heaven we proſecuted this with more ſucceſs. For becoming once again maſters of a fleet, having rebuilt our walls, and recovered our colonies, we were ſoon freed from a war, which our enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this war we loſt indeed many gallant men, ſome at Corinth by the diſadvantage of their ſituation, others at Lechæum by treachery. Nor were they leſs gallant, who ſaved the king of Perſia, and drove the Lacedæmonians out of the ſeas. Theſe are the men I would call to your remembrance, and in honouring and praiſing ſuch as Theſe it becomes all of you to join.

Such were the exploits of thoſe brave men, who here lie buried; ſuch were the exploits of thoſe others alſo, who, though unhappily deprived of burial, died like them in the ſervice of their country: exploits many and great indeed, as hath been related;

lated; but more and ſtill greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole days and nights would ſcarce ſuffice. It is the duty therefore of all and of every particular man to bear theſe things in mind, and, as in battle, to exhort the children of ſuch Fathers not to quit their rank, in which their anceſtors have placed them, by a baſe and cowardly retreat. Accordingly, I myſelf, O ye Sons of virtuous men, do now exhort you, and, as long as I ſhall remain among you, will never ceaſe reminding and exhorting you, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to ſurpaſs them in virtue. But upon this occaſion it is my duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expoſe their lives for their country, commanded us to ſay to thoſe whom they left behind, in caſe any accident ſhould befall themſelves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own mouths, and what, if I may judge from the diſcourſe they then held, they would now gladly ſay to you themſelves, were it in their power. Imagine therefore you hear them ſpeaking. Theſe were their words:

"O CHILDREN! That ye are Sons of virtuous Fathers, is evident from our preſent circumſtances. For having it in our option to live with diſhonour, we have generouſly made it our choice to die, rather than bring ourſelves and our poſterity into diſgrace, and reflect infamy back upon our parents and forefathers; perſuaded as we were, that the life of one who diſhonours his family, is not worth

living, and that ſuch a man can have no friend either here upon Earth among mankind, or among the Gods hereafter in the realms below. It behoves you therefore to bear theſe our words in remembrance, to the end that all your undertakings may be accompanied with virtue; aſſuring yourſelves, that without virtue every acquiſition, every purſuit is baſe and infamous. For wealth can add no dignity to an unmanly mind. The riches of ſuch an one are for others, not for himſelf. Neither are beauty and ſtrength of Body, when joined with baſeneſs and cowardice, to be deemed ornamental, but diſgraceful rather; ſince, if they make a man more conſpicuous, they at the ſame time make the baſeneſs of his Soul conſpicuous alſo. Wiſdom, in like manner, ſeparated from Juſtice and the reſt of the virtues, is not Wiſdom, but Cunning. Wherefore in the firſt place, and in the laſt, and throughout the whole courſe of your lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour with all your faculties to ſurpaſs us and your progenitors in glory. Otherwiſe be well aſſured, that in this conteſt of virtue, if we remain victorious, the victory will cover us with confuſion, which, on the contrary, if obtained by you, will make us happy. The moſt effectual way for you to ſurpaſs us, and obtain this victory, is ſo to order your conduct, as neither to abuſe nor waſte the glory left you by your Anceſtors. For can any thing be more ignominious for a man, who would be thought ſomething, than to receive honour, not

from his own merit, but from the reputation of his forefathers? Hereditary honour is indeed a noble and ſplendid Patrimony. But to enjoy a fair eſtate either in fame or money, or for want of a proper ſupply of wealth and glory of your own, not to be able to tranſmit it to your poſterity is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour after theſe things, you will be welcome to us and we to you, whenever your reſpective fates ſhall conduct you to us in the world below: but if you diſregard them, and become profligate, not one of us ſhall be willing to receive you. Thus much be ſpoken to our Children: But to our Fathers and our Mothers, if any of them ſhould ſurvive us, and it ſhould be thought neceſſary to adminiſter comfort to them, ſay, that it is their duty patiently to bear misfortunes, whenever they happen, and not to give themſelves up to grief: otherwiſe they will never be without ſorrow; for the ordinary occurrences of life will afford ſufficient matter for affliction. They ſhould ſeek to heal and mitigate their troubles in the remembrance, that, as to the moſt conſiderable point, the Gods have heard their prayers. For they did not pray that their Children might be immortal, but virtuous and renowned. And This, the greateſt of all bleſſings, they have obtained. It is not eaſy for mortal man to have every thing fall out according to his wiſhes in this life. Beſides, by bearing their misfortunes with reſolution and fortitude, they will gain the opinion of being the genuine parents of magnanimous children, and

of being themſelves men of courage and magnanimity; whereas, by ſinking under their ſorrows, they will raiſe a ſuſpicion of their not being our Fathers, or Thoſe who ſhall praiſe us will be thought to have moſt groſsly flattered us; neither of which things ought to come to paſs. They themſelves rather ſhould bear chief teſtimony to our praiſe, ſhewing by their actions that they are indeed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old proverb, *Not too much of any thing*, ſeems to be well ſaid, and in fact it is ſo. For he, who hath within himſelf all that is neceſſary to happineſs, or near the matter, and who doth not ſo depend upon other men, as to have himſelf and his affairs in a perpetual fluctuation, according to their good or ill conduct, He, I ſay, is beſt provided for this life; He is moderate, He is prudent, He is a Man; and He upon all occaſions, whether he obtains or loſes an eſtate or children, will pay the greateſt regard to this Proverb: for, placing all his confidence in himſelf, he will neither be too much elevated with joy, or too much depreſſed with ſorrow. Such men we ſhould think worthy to be our Fathers; ſuch we wiſh them to be, and ſuch we affirm they are; ſuch likewiſe are we now proved to be, by neither murmuring nor trembling at death, tho' we were to meet it this inſtant. And this ſame ſtate of mind do we now recommend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating them to make uſe of ſuch ſentiments as theſe thro' the remaining part of their lives; and to be perſuaded, that they will

do

do us the greateſt pleaſure, by not weeping and lamenting for us; that, if the Dead have any knowledge of what paſſes among the Living, their afflicting themſelves, and bearing their misfortunes heavily, will be very unacceptable to us; whereas, on the contrary, their bearing their afflictions lightly, and with moderation, will be moſt pleaſing. Our lives and actions are now going to have an end; but ſuch an end, as among Men is deemed moſt glorious; which therefore ought rather to be graced with honour, than ſullied with lamentations. By taking care of our wives and children, by educating the latter, and turning themſelves and their minds wholly to ſuch-like employments, they will the more readily forget their misfortunes, and lead a life more exemplary, more agreeable to reaſon, and more acceptable to us. Let this ſuffice to be ſpoken on our part to our relations and friends. To the Commonwealth we recommend the care of our Parents and Children; beſeeching Her to give Theſe an honourable education, and to cheriſh Thoſe in their old age, in a manner worthy of them: but we are ſenſible that, without this recommendation, all proper care will be taken of them."

These things, O Children, and ye Parents of the deceaſed, have they given me in charge to ſay to you on their part; and I have moſt willingly, and to the beſt of my power, executed their commands. On my own part, and for their ſakes, I

beſeech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take comfort for the loſs of theſe your Sons; aſſuring yourſelves, that both in our public and in our private capacities, we will take care of you and cheriſh your old-age, as the reſpective duties and relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourſelves well know what proviſions the Commonwealth hath made; that by expreſs laws ſhe hath ordered care to be taken of the children and parents of thoſe, who die in battle; and hath given it in charge to the chief magiſtrate, to take them, above all others, into his particular protection; that the latter may be guarded from all injuries, and the former not be ſenſible of their orphan ſtate, nor feel the want of a father, whoſe place the commonwealth ſupplies, by aſſiſting in the care of their education while they are children, and, when they are grown up to manhood, diſmiſſing them to their ſeveral vocations with an honourable preſent of a complete ſuit of armour. And this ſhe does, not only with a view of intimating to them, and reminding them of the occupations of their fathers, by preſenting them with thoſe implements of valour, which their fathers had ſo glorioufly employed; but alſo that being arrived to the full ſtrength, and furniſhed with the armour of a Man, when they firſt go to take poſſeſſion of their Houſhold-Gods, they may ſet out with a good omen. Moreover, ſhe fails not from time to time to pay theſe anniverſary honours to the Deceaſed; taking upon her to perform

form in general, with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their reſpective relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting games of different kinds, equeſtrian and gymnaſtic, muſical and poetical, ſhe effectually ſupplies the offices of Sons and Heirs to Fathers, of Fathers to Sons, and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred; diſcharging at all times all and every part of the duties that belong to All. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon theſe things, to bear your afflictions with more patience; for by ſo doing you will act the moſt friendly part as well to the dead as to the living, and be better able to give and receive comfort, to cheriſh and aſſiſt each other. And now having jointly paid the tribute of your ſorrow to the Deceaſed, as the law directs, you may all depart.

FINIS.

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